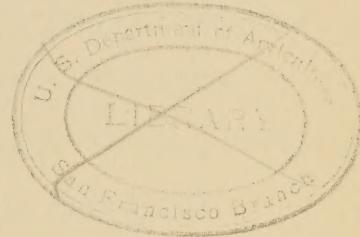


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INDIVIDUALISM, DEMOCRACY, AND SOCIAL CONTROL

By

E. O. Sisson  
Emeritus Professor of Philosophy  
Reed College, Oregon



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INDIVIDUALITY, DEMOCRACY AND SOCIAL CONTROL

"If we could know where we are and whither we are tending, we might better know what to do". So spoke Lincoln to his people, in the thick of the second major crisis in our history. Now, in the thick of the third major crisis, we do well to heed the hint these words offer. Now, as then, we must hold the faith that we are where we are and are tending whither we are tending not as the mere sport of blind historic forces, but rather under the guidance of our deepest national instinct, and <sup>the</sup> in/parsuance of our beloved national ideal. Not yet at least has either foreign threat or inner treason broken our hold. We have come too far to surrender even in the most ominous state of affairs, at home or abroad. Very far away in the vistas of the future is the full realization of the American Dream. We have the treasure in earthen vessels. Though the head of the image is pure gold, its feet are mingled with clay; we stumble in our advance and almost fall. But we have not fallen utterly even yet. The response of our people to the present crisis is sound and true. Only a short time ago indifference and lethargy were still the rule; we were engrossed in our own troubles and eager only for our own prosperity. Voices and acts of treason against our fundamental principles were ignored or tolerated. Now that the world has taken on such threatening forms, with new tyrannies every morning crushing the liberties of small and defenseless peoples,- there rises among us a mighty resentment and just intolerance. Indifference and lethargy are being swept away by attention and energy. Already the voices of treason have been frightened into silence or secret undertones. Our own false prophets, who are not few or feeble, are compelled to reconsider their counsels to their fellow-citizens or abdicate their posts of authority.

The sense of peril is easily kindled. We are already awoken to



the fact of danger. The administration with its manifold voice, the press, the radio, innumerable speeches in all sorts of settings, the talk of shops and street-corners, all converge on this. But merely to be frightened is not enough. Two other things are needed and must be had, if we are to be saved. First, we must know what it is we fear, and what precisely is the most precious thing that is in hazard. And second, we must stiffen our resolution to defend that which is most precious to us, and to mankind. If we do not know clearly what is most precious to us, we may well find too late that we have valiantly defended the form of our liberties and in the process lost their substance. And if we can see clearly the priceless worth of what we are really set to vindicate, that vision will steel our hearts and wills for the defense and will enlighten our minds to invent and operate the appropriate means.

The battle front is complex and confused. But there seem to me to be two main lines of defense, one immediate and pressing, but in the last analysis temporary, even minor; the other basic and permanent. The first is the actual defense of our national territory and integrity against the threat of totalitarian attack. The other is the preservation and advancement of our way of life, which we call democracy or Americanism. The first of these threats is very now, so much so that it is hard for us to believe in it. But it is very definite and clear-cut and so much easier to grasp and understand. Also this immediate threat is being urged upon our attention by every form of publicity and in the most concrete and convincing terms. If the ravishment of Czechoslovakia and Poland and the smaller Scandinavian states left us in any doubt, the catastrophic fall of France was a veritable crack of doom.

The real issue on both fronts is an ancient one, as old as mankind and human society,- the relation of the individual to the community, the



one to the totality, the person to the society in which alone he can live and move and have his being. It is the question how you and I and John Smith and our wives and children are going to live in and with our United States of America, with our state and county and school district; and not only that but with the corporations which pipe our gas and wire our electricity and manufacture our furniture and foodstuffs, and even grow our wheat and beef. Twenty-five years ago we might almost have stopped at this point, with our own land as the outer limit of our lives and our problems. The World War of 1914 to 1918 should have opened our eyes to the fallacy of this, but it did not. We still clung to our ocean-guarded isolation. But now we see there is no escape from doing business regularly with the big round world, from equator to poles and from Plymouth Rock to Plymouth Rock again, via Britain, Germany, Russia, China<sup>Japan</sup>, and all way stations. It comes near being a choice between good neighbor or bitter foe with each people.

Still our own domestic problem is the place to begin, while we have time and breathing-space. So let us think aloud and as clearly as we can on ourselves as individuals and the manifold communities and organizations and institutions in which we share and by grace of which we are human and civilized. It is the problem of individuality,- or individualism,- a risky word to which we must presently attend,- of individuality, and social control, and of our own scheme for their reconciliation, which we call democracy. It is this we shall have to understand if we are to defend it. What is individuality and why do we prize it? How does it come that so often the tailend of the word gets changed and we have individualism, only two letters different, yet sometimes with a tremendous switch in the meaning? Do we know what we mean by our most sacred words,- democracy, Americanism? Is democracy just majority rule, even when the majority tyrannizes over the minority? Why was it felt necessary to amend the brand-new constitution



by adding ten articles of a Bill of Rights? Did true Americanism die out with the passing of the frontier and the pioneer, or with the enormous complication of our business and political structure? Or is it still possible to tame both huge corporations and a powerful government into faithful and efficient servants of the People? Hard questions, indeed, too hard perhaps for any finite intelligence; yet we cannot squirm out of them except by abdicating our citizenship and deserting from the political responsibility which the Constitution lays upon every one of us. Now a human individual, a person, can come into being and can live a human life nowhere except in a human society; yet there runs a persistent conflict between the individual and his society. Even while society alone makes it possible for its members to live at all and be human, society tends to constrain and even oppress the individual and make him merely a cog in its mechanism. Join me then, in an endeavor to perceive some of the simpler outlines of the problem of the individual and the social order, and of our own chosen and precious mode of reconciliation and solution,-American democracy.

Likeness and difference make up the individual. By likeness I belong to the species and by difference I am myself. Together likeness and difference create interest and zest in being. A thing without likeness would be a mere oddity, a what-is-it, a momentary excitement, a freak of nature, a misfit in any coherent scheme of things. A thing without difference would be only a pawn or counter, its contribution zero, its interest nil, a sort of vanishing point of existence. Mankind, the genus homo, the species we belong to, is exactly that achievement of nature in which those two twin and opposite ingredients of worth find their maximum. We men have vastly larger areas of likeness than any other created things, and per contra, infinitely wider ranges and diversities of difference. We are



human by virtue of our likeness and individuals by virtue of our diversities. Both ingredients are indispensable. Even God, however unique and distinctive, has to be envisioned in the likeness of man, so much so that the truest religions all call him Father; only thus can there be a Kingdom of God either on earth or in Heaven. Yet every single one in all the millions of men must be unique, a Self, marked off, tagged somehow to be distinguishable, so that he may live his own life and make his own distinct gift to the community of mankind.

This sets what we call the social problem, providing the sole and only basis of any society at all, and yet creating the endless host of difficulties and obstacles in the way of any social order. Because we have such great areas of likeness and such great areas of diversity, we have infinite capacity for agreeing and for quarreling, for love and for hate, for brotherhood and for enmity, for harmony and joint action, or for discord and bloody strife. All schemes for government and society are proposed solutions to this problem of likeness and diversity. At one end of the scale, anarchy would let diversity range unbridled, at the other end, totalitarianism,- to use the newest name,- would ruthlessly coerce all diversities into one solid invulnerable mass. Both are fantastic. Actual anarchy exists only in brief moments of history, in the birth-pangs or death-pangs of order, or in sudden convulsions of nature or human affairs. Oddly enough, philosophical anarchy exists only in the minds of men imbued with a passionate belief in the all-sufficient human-likeness of men, a belief which has always proved itself illusory. The other mad extreme, totalitarianism, is now being exploited on vast scale and, let us confess, with huge immediate successes. Democracy is precisely the middle ground, seeking the preservation and reconciliation of both the ingredients of human life, likeness and diversity. So democracy is as complex and



baffling as anarchy and totalitarianism are simple and comprehensible, and the marching totalitarianism wins an easy triumph of words by scoffing at the groping, the confusion, the lost motions of democracy. It is like the monkey and the saw: the monkey was annoyed by the scratching of saw upon the wood, and presently by lucky move, the monkey got the saw turned upside down and the smooth easy running filled him with delight, quite unaware that he was "cutting no wood" on the real task.

Government is the control of likeness over diversity; liberty is the vindication of diversity against likeness. The secret police,- Gestapo or OGPU and the like,- are the final usurpation of power by the totality over all individuals and every diversity. The final consummation of totalitarianism is "Nazi science" or "Communist-science,- the doctrine that government passes final decision on <sup>the</sup> findings of scientific research. This is the reduction to absurdity which should disprove the theory to all sane minds. But alas, it seems that sane minds are not always sane enough for this.

In our own Constitution, the provisions for legislative, executive, judiciary, are means to give the social whole power over the individual, and so insure indispensable likeness, while the Bill of Rights sets bounds to the power of society and so insures space for indispensable diversity. When I read this to a friend for his criticism he rather startled me by wondering whether my hearers would have enough knowledge of the Bill of Rights to follow the argument. I assured him that this audience would. Yet I can remember clearly that it is not long since I first perceived that the Bill of Rights is mainly negative, merely forbidding Congress or the government to lay hands upon individuals of minorities in certain areas of life and action. "Congress shall make no law.." "No person shall be deprived.." etc., etc.. The point is profoundly significant and we shall



return to it presently. Totalitarianism finds no problem here but elevates the State to absolute authority over every diversity of all individuals. Democracy finds here its knottiest problem, well expressed by Lincoln's musing question to himself as head of the State and to his people: "Must a government be either so strong as to suppress the liberty of its people, or so weak as to fall at the first attack?"

Our minds are often confused by the favorite word individualism, which may mean individuality, or the very opposite of individuality. The noted catch-word "rugged individualism" was coined by men who believed in and worked through corporations, and until corporations had begun to dominate American life nobody felt the need to stress individualism at all, rugged or ragged. But presently industry, commerce, finance,- the whole economic structure was gathered more and more under corporate control, and the corporations themselves kept growing larger and larger, and inevitably small business and individual enterprise were crowded more and more out of the pattern of American life. This was of course a long-drawn-out historic process, yet can be pretty well dated; it has mostly happened within the memory of men still living. Lincoln was able to say of the United States of his day, that the great majority of men neither worked for others nor employed others to work for them but worked for themselves. Today the great majority, if they work at all, must work for others. Not exactly for other men at that, but for some sort of corporation. Here is a genuine and tremendous revolution, yes and an ominous revolution.

For the ironing out of individual enterprise, of small business and industry, and the substitution of great consolidated organizations, tend also to iron out personal individuality. The thousands of young men who fill our gasoline tanks and polish the windshield are a type, almost a stereotype; they actually look alike and most decidedly behave alike.



Whatever diversities they have which would make each one a Self, himself, a personality in his own right, are during hours of service at least, battened down under hatches, while they wear the same white duds and say the same smooth words to the customer.

As we all know there were two main responses from the people as a whole to this growing regimentation and mass: first, fears and apprehension were kindled in the public mind, mostly by the tangible pressure of the changed economic situation, by new limitations in buying and selling, in getting jobs and holding them, and in the rapid decline of even the possibility of small enterprises. Then governments, both state and federal, were called upon to protect the general public by regulation and control. Against this governmental control the new corporate economics quite naturally objects and struggles. One of the many devices invented to discourage state control was the appeal to individualism, and especially to "American individualism". Thus was individualism posed as the logical foe of individuality. The new corporativeness threatened individuality and individual initiative; but the governmental regulations limited the initiative of corporations, and so was made to seem to threaten American individualism. It sounds like a merry-go-round of words, but the things hidden under the words are of the very essence of human life and of our American Way. The issue involved here is as hard as adamant and as real as anything in life. It underlies, I suspect, our whole problem today, not only of the nation but also of the whole civilized world, as I shall presently try to show.

The new word-coinage did not stop with individualism in its new and strange sense, nor even with "American individualism", but in its enthusiasm went on to "rugged individualism", another word to conjure with. This hinted broadly at the hardy pioneer, breaking trails, clearing forests,



conquering the mountain ranges, fighting wild beasts and wilder men, the peculiarly American hero-type. But the men who now sang praise to the rugged pioneer were not rugged at all: they were sleek and well-groomed, sat in upholstered seats in elegant offices. The new individualism was not fighting Indians or cougars but government regulation and public utility commissions. Still the magic word worked wonders on men's minds, ay, and still works wonders. If you have any doubts tune in on Sunday evening to the smoothly cajoling voice of Cameron. The comic infects all history, as the great Hegel tells us, and it is irresistibly comic to hear the hugest corporations chanting the praise of individualism, free, American, rugged. But of ragged individualism not a word. Yet ragged individualism, meaning poverty, unemployment, dependency, is exactly the most deadly foe to our American institutions and to all and every democratic way of life and government.

My next statement, I am afraid, may disappoint or even displease you, and cause you to accuse me of self-contradiction. For I am not against corporations or mass-industry. By no means, for I am compelled to consider them part and parcel of the main historic advance of our day and, believe it or not, indispensable to the democratic way of life. I believe in machinery: in my boyhood and young manhood I pitched hay, hundreds of tons of it, under the Kansas sun, thermometer 105 in the shade and no shade. Just before I quit the job a machine came in to take the killing load off my back; I have believed in machines ever since. No, the machine, and especially power-machinery, has been invented to lift the burdens off the shoulders of men, to abolish overwork, to shorten the labor-day, to free the workers from intolerable conditions. And mass-industry is the logical consequence of the machine and of power, with the corporation, and the big corporation, as the next logical step. We cannot turn these wheels back.



What, you say, you were a moment ago solemnly warning us that the new corporationism menaces individuality and so threatens the very essence of American life, and now you tell us it is a blessing and indispensable to progress. True. The new machine-industry with its accompanying corporationism is a good thing. But it is also dangerous. Has it occurred to you that it is good things that are dangerous? Bad things are bad, of course, often costly, annoying, detrimental. But everybody is against bad things. It is hard to get up any party to defend them. You can't swing a campaign in their favor. If machine-industry and the corporation were at bottom bad, really and fundamentally hostile to the American Way of life,- they would have been swept into the rubbish heap long ago, or rather they would never have got going. No, they have thriven and expanded, to fill the land, because their truest meaning is the betterment of life. Let who will praise the man with the hoe: I wielded a hoe too long to join the song. Let gentlemen sitting in cool comfort pay tribute to "the sweat of the brow"; the very phrase is silly to anybody who has really sweated,- sweat of the brow indeed,- if that were all; but what of taking your shirt off and wringing the sweat out of it? No poetry in that! No, the machine and power belong to any discernible future for mankind, and, mark this, they belong peculiarly to democracy. For democracy of all forms of society can least tolerate any sort or semblance of slavery, but must have all men free. All previous ages have been infected with a kind of slavery in which masses of men were ground under heavy physical burdens which sapped their strength and choked their minds. Now for the first time in history we have, at least in our own land, an economic set-up which can produce enough material goods for all without imposing intolerable burdens on any. I say it can produce; if and when we can muster wit and will to keep wheels turning and men working steadily even one shift a day. That is a wide-open



possibility. In consequence a democratic society is no longer blocked by economic obstacles as it has always been hitherto. You can't make me think that the modern farmer riding a tractor pulling a three-plow gang is any less an individual or an American than his predecessor stumbling along in the furrow, to say nothing of the peasant with the hoe. I'll bite off still more, and say that the Imaginative Clothing Workers are potentially fitter for American democracy than the woman in Tom Hood's "Song of a Shirt."

No, the machine is hero, with all its train of mass and corporation. All the corporation is just ... more machinery. And all machinery is like fire,- a good servant and a very bad master. I shudder when I read that the magic of the law has transformed the corporation, a piece of machinery, into a person,- almost if not quite/a <sup>into</sup> citizen,- and wrapped the Bill of Rights about its gaunt inhuman frame. Confessedly the corporation has no soul,- but only those limited faculties which its charter catalogs,- how can it be a person? Perhaps if the majesty of the law had not endowed the corporation with the divine quality of personality, we should not now find corporate voices singing so loudly the praises of individualism. Man must/must be of all his machines. A machine out of hand is destruction let loose, witness the reckless-driven automobiles on our highways, and the hate-driven bombers in the skies of Europe. So far/our own internal economy is concerned, our own American life in our own homeland, the supreme problem is social control of the giant machinery, the corporations, great and small, private and governmental, which control the lesser machinery of brass and steel which in its turn creates the food and clothing and other material means to support and adorn our lives. The huge majority of us are going to work for corporations, private or governmental. But we must be employees and not servants, of corporations, private or governmental, which shall be employers but not masters. There's a job tough enough for our best brains and hearts.



At this very moment one party charges that government is coercing its employees to vote as government desires, and the other party that industry and commerce are coercing their employes to vote as industry and commerce desire. We need not believe that either accusation is completely justified, but we cannot doubt there is truth on both sides. It is proper to note for our encouragement, that only a short time ago the voter had to cast his ballot in full view of those seeking to dictate to him, and now the secret ballot has been invented and universally adopted precisely to free the individual from such coercion. Thus society by its own governmental act, in obedience to the will of its members, shields the individuality of the members against corporate interference, public or private. Such are steps toward fuller democracy.

Turning now to the international scene we are confronted by the challenge of the so-called Axis powers, with Russia and now Japan somehow scared into the diabolical machine, but with Nazi Germany already lording it over all the rest. It would be chillish to deny or ignore the terrific efficiency of the totalitarian state, which conscripts all its members, body and soul, and wells them into a solid mass of directed energy. Eight years ago Germany was hardly more than a minor state, without a powerful friend or ally in the world. Two months ago she stood on the pinnacle of power, military and political, with her own borders enormously extended and western continental Europe practically reduced to vassalage. This is an impressive spectacle for gods and men, and commands earnest attention whether admiration or not. In the early stages of this historic process not a few Americans hazarded the view that we too, needed a Hitler or Mussolini. Even today Mrs. Lindburgh opines that the totalitarian powers, Germany, Italy and Russia, have discovered how to use new social and economic forces, and that they really represent the future, while their antagonists are but echoing the past. These are ominous views, and one fears that the distinguished lady is not alone in holding them.



The logical conclusion to be drawn from this view is that we must and can join with the totalitarian powers, especially Germany, if and when they are victorious, in building the new order which Germany, Italy, and Japan are now proclaiming in unison. At the moment of this writing the irresistible Nazi force seems to have met an immovable British resistance; what will be the situation when the time comes for reading this, is not yet revealed to any human intelligence. If the final democratic resistance continues to hold, and still more if it should triumph, our own democracy need fear no disaster, even though we must recognize that British democracy, however admirable, is not identical with our own. But while still holding firm to these fair hopes, it is not too soon to face and ponder earnestly the dread alternative of totalitarian victory in Europe and perhaps the far East. Can American democracy co-operate or can it not, with the now totalitarian world-order? This is the huge query which looms behind the immediate task of building the continental defense.

Mrs. Lindbergh sees the totalitarian wave as the form of the future, the shape of things to come, and the evils which so flagrantly herald it as mere scum on the wave. It is our business, she tells us, to find a course by which we may take advantage of and not oppose these great forces which are pushing in the world. What consolation and relief we might take from such a view, finding that our way of life and our cherished institutions were safe on either cast of the die in the present mortal conflict beyond the oceans, east and west. Alas, this brave hope that the Nazi program is fundamentally right and good, that it is the dawn of a new and better world-order, finds little echo in the preponderant sense of the American people, and still less support in a candid examination of Nazi standards and our own. Both our national instinct and the logic of the comparison lead rather to



the view that the wave of the Nazi revolution is as hostile to American ideals as is the horrid foam upon its crest.

For, after all, what is the "wave" of totalitarianism, leaving aside for the moment the foam on its surface? What is its essence, which gives it its names of totalitarianism or Nazi-ism or Fascism? It is precisely its answer to our main question, the relation of the individual to the State, an answer which is no secret, over which no veil is drawn, but which is blurted out in words and acted out in violence and blood at every turn in the whole course of totalitarianism in every one of the manifold scenes of its advance. "You are nothing; Italy is everything," shouted Mussolini, in the days when he was still the major prophet before Hitler had out-shouted him and his Italy. It is the same answer as Plato gave in the first major prophesy of fascism, the Republic, so-called. It is the same answer as Hegel gave, at the very dawn of modern Prussia, that "The State is the March of God in the World... the State is the divine and must be worshipped," while individual men are mere pawns in its mighty game.

If there is anything more fatally antagonistic to every genuine American ideal, I do not know what it is. To us not the State, but the People, are the divine in nature and in the social order. Let us look hard at this fact, for fact it is. First, it is the order of things in the hearts of our American people themselves. Government is their creation, their instrument to carry out their purposes. Our "rulers" are our servants, responsible to us at every turn. Barring a few corrupt corners where political bosses exercise a short-lived arrogant despotism, we tolerate no dictators; never has there been an American "Fuehrer," that is driver, nor a "Duce," that is commander. Our political ancestry goes straight back to those Englishmen of the



Seventeenth Century who answered a King's attempt to play dictator by cutting off his head.

Not only is this supremacy of the People themselves first in our hearts and in our type of mind, but it is also written indelibly into the charter of our national life, the Constitution. "We, the People... do ordain this Constitution," so runs the Preamble and enacting clause,- which, by the way, is the only article which we cannot amend or discard, for if it went, the whole American scheme goes with it. Now the Constitution is the most solid and fundamental structure in our State, but it was originally set up by the supreme People, and is perpetually subject to amendment by the People's will. Integral to the Constitution, without which, or the solemn promise of which, the Constitution would never have been ratified, is the Bill of Rights, which draws lines of limitation to protect further the rights of the individual and of minorities even against the government and the majority. Note well that there are no Bills of Rights in any totalitarian state, nor any rights of men or women or children which the totalitarian state is bound to respect.

So much for strictly legal pleadings in the case. We may well now go back to the first great document of our national life, our birth certificate, the Declaration of Independence. If the Constitution is irreconcilable with totalitarianism, still more the immortal Declaration. Every sentiment it contains is abhorrent to Hitler and Mussolini and their way of life. Its doctrine of equality is anathema to them, and its broad humanism, expressed in its insistence on the rights of "All Men," makes them froth at the mouth. Their state is ruled by a "Führer" backed by a cabal of "Supermen," with the mass of the people mere "submen," whose only business is to obey, and who possess no rights which the State need respect. And just as the



individual members of the nation lose all their individual rights, swallowed up by the State, so in the family of nations, there is to be one superstition to which all other peoples shall bow in submission and servile imitation. Witness Denmark, and Norway, and Holland, and now even once-proud France. Even Italy, ostensibly equal partner in the "Axis", long ago stepped down into a subject role, actually aping every Nazi move or fashion, and now the Eternal City harks to the dictates of upstart Berlin.

Let us pass now to world policy, and see how the American way may co-operate with the Nazi. We need not be self-righteous nor hypocritical in appraising our own foreign policies. We must confess to some error and combativeness, some harshness in Indian affairs, no little blame in the Mexican War, undue haste in our attack upon Spain. But these are minor items and episodes in a broad national policy reaching over the century and a half of our history, of firm support of the rights of all peoples, great and small, to something that is called self-determination. Whatever may have been the vicissitudes of our actual program, and whatever dissent may be found among us, it is a fact that the American people and their leaders from Washington to our own time, have believed in a democracy of nations as well as of the peoples of the nations, with questions and disputes settled by joint discussion and reciprocal approach. We did take the lead in the first great concrete undertaking to form a League of Nations, even though, rightly or wrongly, we withheld ourselves from the actual organization. But our national belief in and devotion to a world order of decency, of kept promises, or peaceful settlements, has never been at fault. Whatever may be our national vices or virtues, this has been our national faith embodied in countless national policies and actions. With the



new totalitarian scheme for a new world-order this national faith and practice of ours is utterly irreconcilable. The best world that Hitler or Mussolini vision would break every hope of the American mind as to what the world should be like.

Before the Axis powers were locked in the terrific battle with Britain, their two favorite words, not yet entirely discarded, were co-operation, and peace. A thousand years of peace, was the luring promise held out. Never were fair words more falsely and foolishly employed. For even while the words were echoing, their interpretation was being given, in Czechoslovakia, in Poland, in Denmark and Holland, in Norway, and the other victims of totalitarian "co-operation and peace." The lion was busily lying down with the lambs, one after the other,- inside the lion. The now imperial Berlin was speedily practicing the ancient Pax Romana, the Peace of Rome, by slaying and devouring, one by one, the weaker nations that lay in its path of empire. Such is the Nazi road to peace. It is the road of war and leads to nowhere else but war. Mark well the scene of the totalitarian powers themselves; imagine them victorious in their present contests, even against Britain, yes, against ourselves,- unimaginable as it may be. Picture the whole round world subject to Nazi Germany, fascist Italy, Soviet Russia, and imperial Japan. Four beasts of prey ruling the earth in co-operation and peace. Has history ever created so weird a scene? Turn aside then, from the fantasies of imagination, and see already one of the four "allies" peering angrily to the west and the east and to the south at her partners in the new order,- the Russian bear in new colors but with her ancient nature, waiting the moment when she may dare to turn on her false friends, and tear them to pieces. No, the very essence of the totalitarian scheme, and most of all of its



Nazi form, is war. Peace either at home or abroad is fatal to its nature and its mode of existence, the secret police and concentration camp within and an aggressive fighting force without it cannot absolve itself of. This is the "wave" of the new totalitarian "future," and the ugly snarling foam, the "scum on the surface," as Mrs. Lindbergh calls it, is nothing but the wave itself, scuffed into the light of day and visible to all the world. The wave differs only in being the substance and reality of which the foam is the scum.

So much for the wave. What of the scum itself,- by which I take is meant the actual day-by-day, visible and tangible working of the totalitarian powers? No long argument is called for here, for the facts are flagrant and convincing. The end of totalitarianism, the domination at all costs of the super-state, generates the appropriate means embracing blatant moral unscrupulousness which jeers at every ethical standard as evidence of weakness and fear; ruthless and inhuman violence against every man and every people that stand in the way, by no means sparing its own members who dare to refuse complete submission. So the scum and the wave which breeds it are both utterly antagonistic to the American way, and forever irreconcilable with it.

I am surprised, almost startled by my own intensity, for I greatly desire to keep my emotions in their place, a vital place indeed, not to be questioned, but still subject to the logic of all the facts in the case. Yet I cannot retract anything. I can, however, add certain important considerations. First, let us hope that in the peace which must ultimately end the war, no foolish clauses as to war-guilt will be inscribed or signed. Second, let us well understand and not forget that the peoples of Germany, Italy, Russia and Japan, are human, very human, the sport of geographic and historic forces quite beyond



their control, but in the main driven by the same needs as we are and common people everywhere,- food, shelter, the pursuit in their own way of happiness, a little space of freedom in which to expand their personalities. On the other hand, however clear and compelling our sense that we have common cause with Britain in the Armageddon of today and must act in harmony with this fact, yet still English democracy is not identical with American, and the British Empire is no democracy. First, doubtless, is the task common to them and us, of blocking and breaking down the drive for a totalitarian Nazi world and future for mankind. Then comes again, as in 1918, the huge positive task of getting on with a world order of genuine co-operation and peace, on a basis of world-democracy. In such a world order, it is unlikely that any Italy will have to be confined in a sea over the two outlets of which a foreign power holds a gun, or that 300 million people of India shall be subjects of an Emperor of India in London. Just what problems may be raised by our own United States is a question which we must also frankly face. Co-operation calls for conciliation, for give as well as take, mutuality and reciprocity. Like the democratic process in general, it is slow, tedious, difficult, makes formidable demands on human nature.

Finally, we ourselves, the people of the United States, cannot escape a unique and momentous obligation in this supreme issue of time thus far. Our geographical and historical privileges have been incomparable. We have already squandered one national fortune and still possess immense riches. We have had an education in democracy such as no other people ever dreamed of. Nowhere else ever at any time has individuality enjoyed such good fortune. When Europe and Asia were still completely ruled by autocracies, we started our school of free government. England, with its revolutions of the seventeenth century, came



nearest to us in this preferential status, but these English revolutions did as much for us as for her, even more, I think. But for them ours might never have happened, and our new and untrammeled situation permitted us to take up the new forms of freedom as England could not. Germany, Italy, Russia, Japan, to name the leading anti-democratic peoples, have disastrously lacked any education for free government or institutions. The feeble birth of democracy in Germany and Italy fell victim to the old tradition of empire under the new forms of Fascism and Naziism. Russia is too tragic and too confused to be talked about intelligently, perhaps even by Russians themselves. Japan is still an Oriental despotism, with profound mystic tones; but perhaps even her people may have more in their minds than appears in print. But we, the people of the United States, have had material advantages and political privileges and educational experiences which sum up beyond the aggregate fortunes of all other peoples in the wide world. What is the American Way of Life? What do we really want, for ourselves, and for our world-neighbors? Already we have succeeded beyond all previous history in the reconciliation of the individual and the social order and achieved a wide distribution, not only of property but what is far more vital of personality. Can we move onward toward the goal of our own ideals, and play our role, discharge our obligation, in the world of mankind of which we are part and parcel?

